

July 8, 1961

America

The Troika Doctrine:

THREE-WAY WALKOUT

by L. C. McHugh



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America

National Catholic Weekly Review

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Correspondence

Lady Protests

EDITOR: Judging from the campus conservatives that I know, Fr. Laurence Murphy's statements as quoted in "Campus Conservatives" (6/24) are not true.

The comment itself gives the impression that conservative principles are at variance with Catholic ideas of social justice; this is not true, either.

I suggest that you join Fr. Murphy in a study of what the conservative idea *really* is.

(MRS.) JOHN F. LULVES

Florissant, Mo.

God Bless America

EDITOR: Fr. George Dunne's "God Bless America" (6/17) should be printed in pamphlet form. Do not the heartaches and struggle of the poor colored people in this country show God's great love for these people? He seems to ask them to imitate Him: to be spat on, beaten, held in poverty and ridicule—and then to turn the other cheek so that the foolish pride of man can be satisfied.

ALPHONSE MUKITS

Pittsburgh, Pa.

EDITOR: Which is more significant—that a mob riots outside a school, or that it riots *against the law*, because by the law there was to be in education no second-class citizen? Which was the more significant—that a mob burned a bus and attacked its riders, or that the riders were there because *by the law they had a right to be there*? Yet in every case, the press, both domestic and foreign, clearly opted for the more spectacular rather than the more significant.

This was, perhaps, inevitable. Yet, that a reflective and educated man should be taken in by this, that he should even exaggerate it, that he should generalize so as to impugn the nation founded on those very laws which were, and are, and will be, human milestones and beacon-lights drawing on the rest of mankind leaves me, to say the very least, sick at heart.

DANIEL F. X. MEENAN, S.J.

Aurissville, N.Y.

EDITOR: I am shocked and sickened. This hate-America hymn is neither reasoned nor just, much less reflective of any Catholic spirit. We should strive to eliminate racial injustice, and Fr. Dunne might have observed that the efforts of the Federal Government have been and are directed toward

this end. However, Fr. Dunne implicitly demands a higher standard of conduct for this country than for other countries.

VINCENT P. MACQUEENEY

Arlington, Va.

EDITOR: "God Bless America" makes me proud of being a graduate of a Jesuit university. Too often the Catholic press has taken a weak-kneed attitude about the degrading sin of skinolatri. If Christ were in America today, we would likely find Him riding a bus through the South or taking part in a sit-in at a segregated lunch counter.

RAYMOND F. HORN JR.

President

Catholic Interracial Council of Omaha
Omaha, Nebraska

EDITOR: Evidently Fr. Dunne hasn't been in the South in decades. Has he ever been in New Orleans? Not even among moderate lay people have I found the opinion that the Freedom Riders are helping integration. The TV coverage was highly selective and some of it even staged for newsworthiness, giving an impression vastly different from what went on. Fr. Dunne's propaganda style, too, will do very little to help integration, much to harm it.

AUGUSTE D. COYLE, S.J.

Grand Coteau, La.

EDITOR: Fr. Dunne's article is excellent! It would make wonderful reading for all Catholics, priests included. The trouble with Christianity is that Christians don't practice it! Sermons on this subject—in place of campaigns for bingo, raffles, big cars, etc.—might be a good way to start.

RAYMOND S. KUCINSKI

Clifton, N.J.

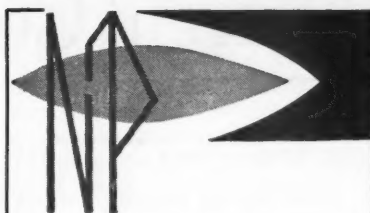
Fabled Wolf

EDITOR: I am glad AMERICA (6/24) carried a warning against the Jehovah's Witnesses. Something is advancing there, under the cloak of religion, in the manner of the fabled wolf in sheep's clothing. The masquerade costume is such that attacks or even questionings ricochet to the injury of anyone who raises a question against them.

The mushroom growth of the Jehovah's Witnesses is not the whole story of the situation, but it is a dangerous part of it. There is desperate need of exposing this misguided movement.

(MRS.) CHASE S. OSBORN

Washington, D.C.



LOVE AND CONTROL

A Contemporary
Problem

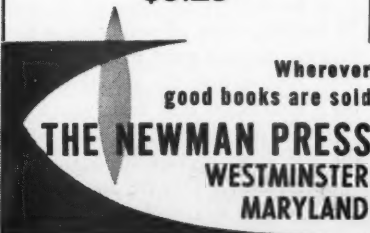
by Leon-Joseph Suenens

Translated by
George J. Robinson

A masterly discussion of the Christian conception of sex and marriage, against the background of mounting populations, economic difficulties, and intensive propaganda for artificial birth prevention. After showing us the scope of the present-day situation, Bishop Suenens examines methods of correcting it.

As stated in the Preface, *Love and Control* is primarily intended for those who are at all involved in sex education—directly involved, as are parents and teachers, or indirectly involved, as are priests, doctors, scientists, and leaders of Catholic organizations.

\$3.25



Current Comment

An Animal Story

Little Caroline Kennedy, we read, is living in a kind of Noah's Ark down there in Washington. As gifts from friends and well-wishers, she has a Welsh terrier, a kitten, two ponies, two of those creepy little things called hamsters, a canary, 13 ducks and several dozen goldfish. She also has a white puppy named Pushinka, a gift from a jolly old man in the Kremlin, Uncle Nikita Khrushchev.

Uncle Nikita has also given Caroline's Daddy a little present. Uncle Nikita gave him this present in Vienna a month ago. He gave him a big Russian bear. This bear answers to the name of Berlin. Daddy brought the bear back with him from Vienna.

Since Caroline's Daddy received the bear from Uncle Nikita, he has had a very sore back. Some people say that Daddy hurt his back shoveling three spadefuls of dirt in Ottawa while planting a tree. But doesn't it make sense to think that it was the Russian bear that gave Daddy that twinge in the small of the back?

We hear that Berlin is a really big bear. In fact, he is a *very* big bear. Caroline has not seen him, nor have we. But some day Daddy is going to go on television and tell the American people all about Berlin. Why must Daddy tell people about the bear? Because it is always good for people to know that there is a bear around the house.

... Told Another Way

Eric Sevareid has always struck us as a man who uses words with care and precision. He seems a quiet man. Why in the world, then, has he suddenly begun shouting?

In his column of June 19, he says: "A burning sense of reality on a short fuse can make a quiet man shout." We must realize that the showdown with the Communists and their world conspiracy is on, and that we have entered the last stage of that struggle.

Sevareid says that we are where we are because Khrushchev has put us

there. It is he who has decided that the hour for a showdown has struck. He believes that the Nato nations can't be pulled together and that North Africa will soon be wide open to communism. Khrushchev further believes that Southeast Asia's defenses are rotting away and that he can now have Latin America for the asking. In fact, Sevareid continues:

Khrushchev is now sure that the great game of isolating the United States, then impoverishing it, then breaking its will, is all over save for our helpless, thrashing convulsions. . . .

We have been losing too many rounds in the struggle, and in too rapid succession. The tide must turn. We must begin to win again, and we must begin to do so soon. Sevareid's advice: stop taking our line from the Manchester *Guardian*; put an end to all the "worrying, hair-shirt arguments" that the United States must not do this or that because it will offend "world opinion."

We have lost a lot already. We shall lose more. But there are some things we can't afford to lose. We agree with Sevareid that one of those things is respect for our own strength and determination.

Competitive Japan

Japanese Premier Hayato Ikeda gave his U.S. hosts something to think about a few weeks ago. Politely but firmly, he warned this country that trade is the difference between life and death for Japan. With a few figures he dispelled the popular misconception here that Japan is "swamping" our markets with cheap competitive goods.

Few Americans, we wager, realize that Japan buys more from the United States than she sells to us; that, after Canada, Nippon is our biggest customer. Fewer still perhaps are aware that Japan itself has imposed quotas on exports to America. Since 1956 Japan's share of cotton-textile exports to this country has slipped from 70 per cent to 23 per cent. The slack, Mr.

Ikeda noted at the National Press Club on June 22, has been taken up by producers in Hong Kong—many of whose firms, we add, are controlled by American interests.

It is true that Japanese products provide tough competition here in the States. But that does not alter the fact that trade contributes 25 per cent of Japan's gross national product. Nor does it alter the fact that a solvent Japan is vital to our free-world security in Asia. Japan is our anchor in the Orient. Either we trade with this ally or we undermine what is left of our position in Asia. That, in a few simple words, is the choice which confronts the protectionists.

Federal-Aid Ballet

The passage of a bill through Congress involves a series of maneuvers as intricate and stylized as the movements of dancers in a classical ballet. The choreography may be confusing to the audience at times, but the dancers all know their parts and perform them exactly.

A legislative ballet currently drawing rave notices in Washington is entitled "Federal Aid to Education." It includes a juggling act in which not one, but three bills are kept in the air at the same time.

There is a bill to aid colleges and universities: not very controversial. Then there is the "general" Federal-aid bill which limits its benefits to public elementary and secondary schools. Another bill, to extend the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, attempts to placate the parochial schools with loans and other provisions.

The public school bill is at present bottled up in the House Rules Committee. Republican and Southern Democratic committeemen, vigorously prompted by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, oppose Federal aid to education as such. Two Northern Democratic committee members, both Catholics, have joined them and refuse to clear the public school bill for a vote in the House until the NDEA revision is also cleared.

A chorus of the liberal press, led by the New York *Times*, solemnly intones: "Shame! Shame!" At this point the prima ballerina, the National Educa-

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JULY 8, 1961

tion Association, might emerge from the wings and astound the country with a double cabriolet. By that we mean a statement that the NEA sees no reason why all schools should not benefit from Federal aid to education. But that movement, we fear, is not in the choreography.

Cardinal Leger's Speech

Cardinal Paul-Emile Léger, Archbishop of Montreal, spoke June 17 at the 50th-anniversary celebration of St. Jean Seminary in St. Johns, Quebec. The old, stable, rural society of the Province of Quebec is gone, the Cardinal declared, and conditions of education must change. When he spelled out what he meant, it was front-page news in Canadian papers.

The Cardinal pointed out that the number of lay teachers in elementary schools, high schools and universities has been constantly increasing. Lay teachers are beginning to ask that they, as well as priests, brothers and nuns, be given positions of responsibility.

"This aspiration is legitimate," the Cardinal said. He added:

Perhaps we must subject to serious revision some of the administrative organizations of schools. . . . We should at least have an open discussion between the clergy and the laymen to see what can be done in the future.

Everything must be done to bring about a healthy collaboration and mutual understanding, the Cardinal stated. He stressed that "the Church is not its hierarchy alone. The word Church means the community of God's people. . . . The laymen are also the Church, as Pope Pius XII said."

In a lead editorial, the *Montreal Star* said that the Cardinal's address must be rated as a profound and penetrating statement on education in Quebec's changing society. It deserves to be studied far beyond the Province of Quebec.

Red China Falters

When, in the eyes of the Chinese people, their ruler has lost the traditional "mandate of heaven," anything can happen. We are not going to crawl out on a limb to predict the imminent collapse of the Chinese Communist re-

gime. But neither will we predict easy sailing for Mao's minions in the months ahead.

That the present regime in Peking has lost the "mandate of heaven" has become painfully obvious to the lowliest Chinese peasant. The little man, who has been the backbone of the Chinese economy for centuries, is going hungry. Whether the fault lies in drought and flood, in the sheer incompetence of the commune system, or in a combination of both, matters little to him. Heaven no longer smiles on his rulers, and the "Great Leap Forward," so wildly heralded by the regime two years ago, has become a fall on the face.

As a result, Red China has been forced to dip into hard-to-come-by foreign exchange to purchase wheat from Canada and Australia. Despite the much-touted Sino-Soviet solidarity, the Red Chinese have received little help from the Soviet Union.

Famine, no matter where it occurs, is never something to gloat over. Yet, even for the Chinese peasant, his country's economic crisis has proved a blessing in disguise. The regime has already reversed its policy on the inhuman commune system. For the rest of Asia, Red China's too faltering steps toward economic independence are a demonstration of collectivism's inherent weakness. If Red China is the "showpiece" of the Communist world, then Asia would be better advised to do its window-shopping elsewhere.

Where Do the Ducks Go?

A coterie of J. D. Salinger fans, readers of *The Catcher in the Rye* (Am. 1/7, p. 441), are getting to be a menace to New York City taxi drivers.

Remember the episode in *Catcher* where young Holden Caulfield asks a cab driver where the ducks in Central Park go in the winter when the lake freezes over? This problem really bothers Holden, but the cabby doesn't know the answer and tries to fake it. Most real life cabbies don't know either, but they invariably have a theory. Try it yourself and see.

Recently, in a little publication called *Pleasures in Learning*, issued by the Division of General Education at New York University, Arthur J. Roth confesses that he has been asking taxi

drivers the "duck" question, and reports on what they've been telling him. Mr. Roth is a young novelist known for *A Terrible Beauty* (1958), *What Is the Stars?* (1959), and *The Shame of Our Wounds*, his latest, published in May, 1961. Roth has had a beautiful collection of reactions: Such as:

Well hey, what's the deal? You study ducks or something? I mean, you going to college and studying duckology, or what? Well I got one for you. You know why they can't keep Jews in jail? No? Because they eat lox. Get it? *Locks*, l-o-c-k-s.

It's a crazy game, and any number can play. But you have to know your man. Don't start asking this question of a cabby who's heard it twice that day from people who didn't tip when they got out.

Bravo, Pittsburgh!

Young William Clancy and old Frank Sheed made history in Pittsburgh recently—the former in connection with the newly established Pittsburgh Oratory, the latter by inaugurating a street-preaching crusade. Each project was begun under the vigorous sponsorship of Bishop John J. Wright.

It was news enough that *Worldview's* Mr. Clancy (formerly of *Commonweal* and *Newsweek*) had decided to study for the priesthood. But it was especially heartening to hear that an Oratory of St. Philip Neri was to be established in Pittsburgh.

The Oratory (a congregation of secular priests, living under obedience, but bound by no religious vows) is famous for a long line of writers and preachers including Fr. Faber, the ascetical writer, and the great Cardinal Newman. The Pittsburgh Oratory, in fact, is to be modeled on Newman's plan for an Oratory at Oxford. The use of Newman's plan, says Bishop Wright, "follows upon many years of solicitude and study concerning the apostolate to young intellectuals on other than directly Catholic campuses."

Frank Sheed's Catholic Evidence Guild is another brave new venture, and it is expected to make street preaching a permanent part of the Church's work in Pittsburgh. Mr. Sheed (who, while attending to a few "minor" tasks in the writing and publishing field, has been

street-preaching for 40 years) opened the outdoor series personally and was introduced by Bishop Wright. The Bishop himself promised to take his turn on the CEC's mobile unit.

Bravo, Pittsburgh, bravo!

Sex Education

If American booklovers do not know everything there is to know about sex, the explanation can only be lack of interest on their part. Besides the writings of novelists who imagine all and tell all, there is a steady stream of non-fictional works devoted to popular enlightenment on the facts of life.

In the last eight months, for example, the Sunday book review section of one widely read newspaper has carried advertisements for at least 18 works on various aspects of sex.

Four of these were do-it-yourself sex and marriage manuals of a type which has now become common. Also advertised were two encyclopedias of sex, one of which purports to contain "nearly 200 authentic enlightening illustrations—many in life-like color." (The man who turned out that ad, as someone once remarked of Mickey Spillane, can really write.)

There was also a small gaggle of books on the sociology of sex, no doubt intended for generous souls who can get their minds off their own problems long enough to worry about those of other people. One of these books in particular, a study of the French woman and her morals, promises to be, as the advertisement says, "intriguing."

For those of purely literary tastes, there were a few books on pornography and erotic literature and one about "man's historic interest in sex symbolism." A work on aphrodisiacs rounds out the lot.

Clearly, a reader who bought every one of these books would have broadened his knowledge considerably. Since the books were advertised in a highly respectable newspaper, we must assume that knowledge was the object. But sometimes we can't help wondering who is kidding whom.

Omnibus Housing Bill

The Administration's housing bill, which was passed June 28, means many things to many men.

To farmers and families living in "rural nonfarm regions," it means doubling the present \$200-million lending authority under the farm housing program.

To college presidents, it means another \$1.2 billion for the college housing fund.

To mayors and city managers, it means a continuation of the urban-renewal program and some help in tackling their transportation and recreational problems.

To the poor, to the elderly, to veterans and to those who want to rehabilitate their old homes, the bill offers assistance of various kinds.

Most of all, the bill means much to families of moderate income. On houses costing up to \$15,000, the government will guarantee long-term loans with only small down payments required. It will also guarantee loans to nonprofit groups which build rental projects for families too well-off to qualify for public housing and not well-off enough to afford private rentals.

The cost of this program, which will extend over the next four years, will be about \$5 billion. Two-thirds of this money, however, is ticketed for loans, which will eventually be repaid, and scarcely constitutes spending in the usual sense of that word. Meantime, many American families will for the first time own their homes, and many others will, finally, enjoy decent and adequate living space at rents they can afford to pay. One can quarrel about details of this program, or even about its size, but scarcely about its basic wisdom and beneficence.

Veterans' Rider

Will the veterans ride for free again? They will, if Congress follows up a proposal made by a Senate Labor and Public Welfare subcommittee on June 23.

The subcommittee voted to add a 12-year veterans' education program as a rider to the National Defense Education Act. Under this program, benefits of \$110 to \$160 a month would be made available to persons who have served more than six months in the armed services since Jan. 31, 1955. Depending on the length of his active service, a veteran could receive payments covering as much as 36

months of college or vocational training.

Over a period of 12 years, if we accept the Veterans Administration's estimate that 2.6 million veterans would take advantage of the program, it would cost the government \$3.5 billion. The Senate subcommittee set the cost at about \$2 billion because it estimated that fewer veterans would choose to participate.

If the government is going to pour \$2 or \$3 billion more into higher education, we should not be unhappy to see it use the G.I. Bill of Rights as a model. Under that famous law, government grants followed the student wherever he went, and State universities were not favored over private ones.

But we doubt that the country is ready for another G.I. Bill at this time. And we question whether the length of time spent in military service under a peacetime draft is the best criterion the government could use in determining whose education to subsidize. Surely the national interest demands some better measure of economic need and academic merit.

Epistle to the Bourgeoisie

The Communist party, U.S.A., has written an "Open Letter to the American People," published as a paid advertisement in the *New York Times*, June 22. But the tone is very different from the usual Communist epistolary style.

Not once in this letter are we, the American people, called imperialistic, war-mongering Fascist beasts. Instead, the party addresses us as "fellow Americans," and warns us:

Your constitutional rights, your security and welfare, have been placed in mortal danger by decisions of a one-vote majority in the Supreme Court in two so-called anti-Communist cases on June 5.

The Communist party, it seems, is a persecuted minority like the Jews in Nazi Germany, the Southern chapters of the NAACP and (this is good) "our Catholic fellow Americans" who have been "slandrously hounded as loyal to a foreign power, the Vatican."

Indeed, we are all in peril if the government can prosecute innocent radicals whose only offense is their "struggle for peace, security, democracy and a Socialist order." The case

against the party, the open letter assures us, rests on "two stale, fraudulent arguments: that the Communists are foreign agents and that they advocate the forceful overthrow of our government."

But suppose the arguments are

neither stale nor fraudulent, but an accurate description of the Communist party. In that case, we might conclude, with the Supreme Court, that our liberties may be in mortal danger, but not because the Communist party cannot operate freely in our midst.

Admittedly, this attitude makes it somewhat harder for the Communists to propagate their views. But then, revolution is a risky business and one must expect to encounter some difficulties in it now and then. As they say in Budapest: That's life, comrades.

Algeria—War or Peace?

THE MEETINGS at Evian between the French and the representatives of the Algerian nationalist movement ran for 13 sessions between May 20 and June 13. They were then interrupted because both sides persisted in clinging to their own points of view.

The main issue was the interpretation of the "self-determination" that President de Gaulle has promised for Algeria. To the nationalists, the proposed referendum to determine the future of Algeria means simply a vote to choose an independent government. To the French, it means a chance for Algeria's mixed European-Muslim population to choose between an independent Algeria and one associated with France. Another issue which proved a stumbling block to agreement was the extent of territory which is to enjoy self-determination: Algeria proper, or Algeria together with the Sahara.

The French government proposes a close union between Algeria and France as the ideal solution. The nationalists cannot agree, since, in their eyes, all political ties with the West must be cut. The French also insist on a special status for the European minority in Algeria. Again the nationalists cannot agree; they want no brakes whatever applied to their program of change, land reform, etc.

The press coverage of the Evian talks, I personally feel, has understressed two important points. One is the fact that the Algerian nationalists are true revolutionaries, not mere silly nationalists. For them, as for all revolutionaries, negotiations are only a phase of war. Hence, they did not see fit to stop fighting even during the meetings. The classic statement: "War is politics continued by other means," they invert to: "Politics is war continued by other means."

Since the nationalists want revolution in the strict sense of the word, they simply cannot go along with the French proposals. In their minds, the only acceptable kind of "co-operation" is that of receiving aid which they are free to dispose of as they see fit. Nationalist leaders have no hesitation about assuring human rights to European Algerians as to other Algerians. The Europeans, however, place no trust in such ab-

stract rights in the present critical juncture. Besides, Algeria is their home, too, and has been such for four generations.

My second point is this: As things now stand, the European Algerians have absolutely no trust in anyone. They have lost confidence in General de Gaulle, since he has attempted to negotiate with the nationalists. They have still less confidence in the Algerian nationalists, for many reasons.

In turn, the Algerian nationalists are in no position to impose their authority on the European minority—even were the French army to withdraw—except by wholesale massacre. And the Europeans are now organizing to resist. The Algerian nationalists would not even want to seize power with the help of the French army. They are, therefore, desperately looking for some device that may give them Algeria and still let them save face.

The nationalist provisional government is not made up of Communists. True, many of its leaders have been in French jails studying Lenin and Mao and have become skilled in revolutionary strategy. But, despite their education along Leninist lines, they are not Communists in the vulgar sense. Their aim, I believe, is what they would call neutralism.

What may we foresee? The nationalists are now eager to start negotiations again; they see the danger of opposition from the European Algerians, and are willing to proceed more smoothly this time. De Gaulle's problem is acute indeed. He is on the record as favoring self-determination for Algeria. But how can he grant self-determination and, at the same time, protect the rights of the European minority without partitioning the country into European and Muslim enclaves?

Hoping against hope, we still expect some reconciliation. Despite the extremists on both sides, a great many liberals now understand each other better. Possibly this seven-year war has brought European and Muslim Algerians closer together than have 130 years of mere cohabitation. Algeria's key position, linking Europe, Africa and the Arab world, makes the solution of its problems decisive for peace between East and West.

ROBERT BOSCH

FR. BOSCH, S.J., is our Paris correspondent.

Washington Front

THE SUPREME COURT'S FUNCTION

THE DECISIONS of the Supreme Court during the past year show clearly a shift in the great constitutional issues. Twenty-five years ago the court concerned itself almost exclusively with the constitutionality of State and national legislation regulating industry and labor-management relations. During the 1930's the court and the public debated the legitimacy of social security laws, the regulation of wages and hours, and national protection of labor's right to organize and bargain collectively. By 1938 these questions had been settled politically in favor of government intervention. By 1942 the court had acquiesced fully.

Opinions still differ concerning the degree to which the government should intervene in the economic order, but these differences are stated in political rather than constitutional terms. The Supreme Court concluded its recent session, for example, without handling a single case involving a significant question on the constitutionality of government regulation of business.

When the Supreme Court gave over to the elective branches undisputed control of the substance of economic regulation, it took upon itself the new task of

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interpreting the relations of the citizen to his government in the area of civil liberties. This has remained the major job of the court.

The final day of the recently concluded term witnessed decisions on the constitutionality of State requirements for religious oaths for notaries public, the right of unions to spend money for political purposes to which some members do not subscribe, the right of a State to use illegally secured evidence in prosecuting alleged criminals, and the right of a State to prohibit the prescription and use of birth control devices. These cases are reasonably representative of the types of cases decided by the court during the year.

In the field of individual rights versus national security, the court is still groping for satisfactory standards. It has pursued a relatively consistent line in cases involving racial equality. Elsewhere it has wavered. Sometimes the court has emphasized the needs of society rather than individual freedom; sometimes the reverse has been true. Decisions have frequently been made on narrow grounds rather than broad constitutional grounds.

It is sometimes said that the court performs a stabilizing function in our society by laying down the broad framework within which the government and the citizen may act. The court has not performed this task in the civil liberties field. Possibly it has failed to do so because, in fact, its function really is a different one. Perhaps the court hands down the so-called stabilizing rules only after society has first made clear in the political area how it wishes these rules to be written.

HOWARD PENNIMAN

On All Horizons

IDEA • Parishioners at St. Pius X Church, Milwaukee, recently voted in a novel parish project. They plan to send a parish lay missionary team to Latin America and back it financially and spiritually. Idea man: Dr. Richard J. Connell of Marquette University's faculty.

PEACE CORPS • Openings for Catholic teachers of English and general science to be sent to the Philippines as Peace Corps volunteers were announced by F. Robert Melina, Peace Corps Desk, NCWC, 1312 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

RETREATS • Two retreat houses in the East have found a way to expand: by giving youth retreats, Mondays

through Thursdays. They are Loyola House of Retreats, Morristown, N.J., and Manresa Retreat House, Staten Island 5, N.Y. Reservations for college men or high school seniors may be made by writing to the Reverend Directors.

STUDY ABROAD • Two free brochures, *U.S. Government Grants for Graduate Study Abroad and Fellowships Offered by Foreign Governments, Universities and Private Donors*, tell of opportunities for 1962-63 (Institute of International Education, 1 E. 67th St., New York 21, N.Y.). All applications for these grants must be returned by Nov. 1, 1961.

THEATRE • A professional Shakespearean company directed by David

Barrie of Georgetown Univ. will camp for the summer at Our Lady of Cincinnati College. Contact Helen Detzel at that college (Cincinnati 6, Ohio) for the program of the plays, which open July 12.

AFRICA • A new high school for 300 African boys to be opened in January, 1962, outside Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, is soliciting American support. Rev. Joseph Christie, S.J., 114 Mount St., London W. 1, England, can provide more information.

FRIEND • Sister M. Madeleva, president of St. Mary's College for women at Notre Dame, Ind., for the last 27 years, will retire from the administration of that institution in August. The Holy Cross nun, well known as an educator, poet and lecturer, has often honored AMERICA with her contributions.

W.H.Q.

Editorials

The Great Debate

THE GREAT DEBATE goes on, thrust and counterthrust, at several levels. The recent Vienna meeting was one encounter, but it was closed to public gaze. On June 24, however, the NBC television program, "The Nation's Future," gave the whole nation a chance to watch Soviet spokesmen in action against ours. Many of us who were present in the studio were plunged into deep gloom. However the debate may have appeared on the screen, to us it seemed deplorable, if not disastrous—one more instance (despite some occasional good cape-work by Pierre Salinger) of our unwillingness or inability to size up the adversary.

Even during the camera-test period before the program began, the editor of *Izvestia*, Alexei I. Adzhubei, was at work captivating the studio audience. More like a son than a son-in-law of Nikita Khrushchev, he showed the same uncanny skill in playing to the crowd, the same mercurial shifts of temper—from ebullient joviality to controlled rage—the same crude power coupled with a debater's agility. While the topic, freedom of the press, seemed inevitably to favor the Americans, the Russians were able to turn almost every point so deftly to their advantage that Moscow will hardly hesitate to allow the program to be replayed over Soviet TV.

This single debate would not merit editorial comment were it not symptomatic. Many Americans, even rather well-informed Americans, know perilously little about Soviet power. Even after sputniks and Gagarin, some believe that since the Soviet system is evil, it must also be feeble. With an obscure anxiety, they dimly sense that everything Soviet is wicked and contrary to the American way of life, and must accordingly fail. When Russian athletes win Olympic games or jump higher than ours; when Russians produce incomparable dance teams like Moiseyev's and pianists like Richter—the whole thing can't quite be true; it must be only part of the total conspiracy. To them, Soviet grapes seem not even sour, only plastic.

Others, of course, fall into the obverse error: supposing the Soviets to be giants. When Mr. Khrushchev or his amiable son-in-law begin pounding fists, some quickly become intimidated and rush into compromise. Bullies, of course, like nothing better. Thus it was refreshing to hear a new call to courage in Dr. Charles Malik's recent address at Seattle University (AM. 7/1, p. 477). It is time for us to get over our "pathetic air of apology," he urges, "our sickly note of timidity," as though we really thought the Soviets were right and riding the crest of the future. When we debate with them, too often we do it on their terms, talking of capitalism, profits, means of production and other economic matters, as though nothing else mattered. This

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is a suicide ploy that betrays what we stand for.

If we allow the world to lapse into neutralism; if we sink into a facile isolationism instead of embarking on new, bold policies of dealing with our friends; if we become softheaded, tired, frightened, sentimental; if we indulge in "softness and the life of ease"—then we have surrendered our position, becoming as crassly materialistic as those pledged to bury us. The times, Dr. Malik rightly repeats, call for an offensive on every front. This involves technique as well as good will, sagacity as well as fire. We can be neither timid nor smug, for today there is no tower to which we can retreat for shelter or complacent ease.

Two Chinas?

THE MUCH-VENTILATED question of admitting Red China to the UN is again in the news. Moreover, the issue has been raised by the United States, and in terms that could be construed by the unsuspecting as favorable to the Peking regime.

On June 23, the report originated in Washington that the United States was considering offering Peking equal representation with Nationalist China in the UN General Assembly. Have we at last surrendered to mounting pressure in the world body? Or is the move, if indeed it materializes at all, a shrewd gesture calculated to get us off the hook in the eyes of world opinion without sacrificing our convictions in regard to Red China? The latter interpretation seems the sounder.

The terms on which we would offer Peking a UN seat will not be acceptable to the Communist bloc. For that opinion we appeal to no less an authority than Nikita Khrushchev himself. Our readers will remember the hectic UN session of last fall. When the question of seating Red China arose, as it inevitably has each year since 1950, the fist-flailing, table-thumping Premier of the Soviet Union was on hand to defend his Asian ally's "right" to UN representation. Red China, he insisted, is the "legitimate" representative of the 600 million Chinese. Moreover, since the admission of Peking would necessarily involve the ejection of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government, Mr. Khrushchev brashly suggested that the world body "cast out this corpse."

Mr. Khrushchev did not win his point. He did, however, accomplish two minor objectives. When it came to a vote, it was obvious that he had succeeded in whittling down the margin of victory for the U.S. position, which has been to keep the question indefinitely in deep freeze. He succeeded in convincing the world body that neither he nor Mao Tse-tung would admit a "two-China" solution to the problem. Peking spokesmen have been just as firm, insisting that, if they are given a UN seat, it would have to be the sole representative of China. Taiwan, we may add, is just as adamantly opposed to the "two-China" theory.

Our proposal would have little chance of receiving a sympathetic hearing from either of the two parties involved. Why, then, make it at all? Why, especially,

make it at a time when Red China is again on the rampage in Asia? As an article by Frank N. Trager in this issue points out (p. 506), Chinese Communist obstructionism at Geneva, where 14 nations are desperately trying to settle the fate of Laos, has one purpose—to insure Communist control of Laos and, eventually, of the tempting Southeast Asian rice bowl. Still the aggressor, Red China remains outside the pale of the world community.

The issue of Red China will come up again in next fall's session of the UN General Assembly. We can face it in two ways. We can go on insisting, unreasonably to a growing number of UN members, that the question be shelved indefinitely. Or we can meet it head on with a reasonable proposal Red China is certain to reject. What better way to make the Reds themselves responsible for their absence from the world body?

Clash of Symbols

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT ON June 19 declined to pass on the constitutionality of Connecticut's birth control law for the good reason that no real legal issue was involved. All the court could hear was the resounding clash of opposing symbols.

The Connecticut law is itself a symbol. Connecticut is unique among the several States in that it makes, not the sale or advertisement, but the *use* of contraceptive devices a punishable offense. The sale of contraceptives or the giving of contraceptive advice is also illegal, however, under a general clause of Connecticut law which makes it punishable to aid or counsel another person to commit an offense.

This law was passed in 1879 when the State had a Yankee Protestant majority in its population. Today the descendants of the Puritans have changed their minds on the morality of contraception and would like to repeal the law. But now almost half the State's population is Catholic and the law is tenaciously kept on the statute books as a symbol of Catholic moral disapproval of contraception. One suspects that an Irish determination not to let the Yankees have their way may also enter into the opposition to repeal.

On the other hand, the recent lawsuit to have the statute declared unconstitutional by the courts was also largely symbolic in nature. The fact is that since 1879 the State has made no effort (except for a test case in 1940) to enforce the law against the use, sale or counseling of contraceptives by private physicians. That is why the U.S. Supreme Court dismissed the case.

Dr. C. Lee Buxton, chairman of the Obstetrics Department of Yale Medical School, had brought the suit on behalf of two married women patients. He contended that the Connecticut law unconstitutionally prevented him from giving contraceptive advice which was necessary for the health and even for the life of these patients.

But Dr. Buxton was asking for a merely symbolic condemnation of a law he did not like. No one can seriously believe that he refrained from giving advice

to Mesdames Jane Doe and Pauline Poe, as his patients are delicately called in the legal record, because he was afraid of prosecution under a law which no one attempts to enforce. At least, the Supreme Court could not bring itself to believe this story and very properly threw out Dr. Buxton's suit.

But we have not heard the last of Connecticut's birth control law. As Justice William J. Brennan remarked in his concurring opinion:

The true controversy in this case is over the opening of birth control clinics on a large scale; it is that which the State has prevented in the past, not the use of contraceptives by isolated and individual married couples. It will be time enough to decide the constitutional questions urged upon us when, if ever, that real controversy flares up again.

The real controversy will not be long in flaring up. The Connecticut League for Planned Parenthood announced on June 21 that it plans in the near future to open contraceptive clinics in the State. Connecticut will then be faced with the choice of 1) admitting that its birth control statute is a dead letter and a mere symbol, or 2) enforcing the law against the operators of clinics. In the latter case, suit will undoubtedly be brought, and the U.S. Supreme Court this time can scarcely avoid deciding the constitutionality of the Connecticut statute.

Before that happens, Connecticut had better get itself a law that has a chance of standing up in court. The present law, which makes an essentially private act a public crime, is hardly defensible. But prudent State regulation of the dissemination of contraceptive information, framed in terms that can win broad acceptance in the community, should not be impossible to achieve.

Bond of Words

WHEN Ambassador Stevenson's plane touched down in the United States after his hard-pushing, 18-day whirl through ten Latin American capitals, our emissary looked tired. Yes, tired and a bit dejected. It's no wonder: the hurry of it all; the knotted complexity of the problems he observed; the heavy security precautions that walled Stevenson off from the people; the unavoidably unfortunate timing of the trip, just after our Cuban fiasco—this is what made the assignment almost impossibly demanding and often somewhat frustrating.

On one particular count, we couldn't check a feeling of regret about the Stevenson trip. This arose over the Ambassador's apparent inability to handle a bit of Spanish and a few words of Portuguese. One of the surest proofs of our long neglect of Latin America is the fact that, at so vital an hour as this in hemispheric affairs, so few prominent Americans, men of the stature needed to represent the President, are equipped to give our Latin cousins the most appreciated *abrazo* of all—a few words in their own tongue.

The Troika Doctrine

L. C. McHugh

CAN YOU DESCRIBE the Troika Doctrine? This imaginative term of the expanding Cold War vocabulary refers to a new structural principle that the Soviet Union is trying to build into the framework of international organizations.

Troika is the Russian word for a carriage or sled drawn by three horses abreast. The wing horses canter while the steed in the center trots. A well-trained team must be a pretty picture. But if one nag balks, the troika stalls, and that's no fun if you are striving to make time against icy darkness on the steppes.

It is obvious how aptly the troika metaphor applies to the pattern of executive action that the Soviet Union is now attempting to force upon international organizations. If the USSR has its way, one-man administrative direction of such institutions as the United Nations Security Council will soon be obsolete. Administrative control of international organizations will be lodged in a three-man commission representing the West, the Communist bloc and the neutralist nations. Most important of all, the implementation of organizational decisions will be subject to a mandatory rule of unanimity. In other words, executive action is to be made liable to paralysis by the principle of the built-in veto.

How did the troika system arise? So far as public knowledge goes, the origins of troika doctrine run back to the fall of 1960. Readers will recall how the Soviet Union, frustrated in its designs upon the Congo, initiated a vicious campaign against Secretary General Hammarskjöld. The avowed aim of this assault was to oust the chief executive of the UN Security Council and replace him with a triumvirate representing the three major blocs in the General Assembly. Almost at the same time, it became clear that the USSR was intent upon foisting the same sort of administrative arrangement on Unesco and other agencies of the UN. On March 21, it was revealed that the Soviet Union wished to write the troika system into the proposed treaty on nuclear testing. Later still, the world has seen an effort to impose the tripartite veto arrangement on the Laotian International Control Commission. Undoubtedly, if disarmament talks are undertaken later this summer, the USSR will endeavor to use the troika principle as a means of agitating for complete and general disarmament without a shadow of adequate inspection and control.

In any case, what apparently began as a tactic for obstructing the success of the UN Congo operation has

now become a major strategic element in the conduct of the Cold War. The new Soviet policy received its first precise formulation and rationalization in the memorandum on nuclear tests and armaments that Premier Khrushchev handed to President Kennedy during their talks in Vienna.

How does the Soviet Union justify its present insistence on the troika system? Since Communist rationalizations bear little resemblance to hidden Communist thoughts, there is no need to dwell on this point. Apparently, the Soviet Premier, rudely shocked by the "partisan treachery" of Dag Hammarskjöld, has reluctantly come to realize a profound truth about human nature. In his own words, "There are no neutral men." Hence it follows that sacred national interests cannot be entrusted to the impartiality of any one man who is in the position to implement decisions in an international organization. One-man directorship is a disguised dictatorship that automatically channels action along a line of partisan interest. The only path to true equality and impartiality, therefore, lies in a multiple administrative control that operates by the rule of unanimity.

Is such an arrangement tantamount to a veto? In Soviet gobbledygook, such a harsh conclusion is a "distortion" of Soviet attitudes and an "artificially contrived" objection to a system that is precisely designed to guarantee the rights of all parties.

How does the troika doctrine sound in the light of common sense? Ask any baseball fan. The Khrushchev thesis is that there are no honest umpires; his avowed conclusion is that he will never allow his team to be put in a position where he will have to say: "We wuz robbed." Hence, if the Yankees are to play the Indians, three umpires must stand behind the catcher—a Yankee umpire, an Indian umpire, and one who is, let us say, a rabid rooter for the Detroit Tigers. Under this system, the game would be called on account of darkness before the first batter ever got off the plate. The judgment of any baseball fan on the idea of a three-headed umpire is vulgar but sane: "That ain't no way to run a ball game."

It's an impossible way to run international organizations, too. The plain meaning of the troika system is that it aims at sanctifying the tyranny of a powerful minority in the conduct of international affairs. It is an attempt to perpetuate the irresponsibility of absolute national sovereignty just at a time when the world is moving hesitantly and uncertainly toward democratic institutions for the peaceful adjudication of conflicts of interest. If the troika system were to become an ac-

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knowledgeable arrangement in the world's groping search for international forms of co-operation, it would guarantee paralysis in every attempt to resolve differences or foster unity. In this sense, the troika doctrine must be condemned as a retrograde movement in the development of international politics.

Clearly, the non-Communist world cannot accept the new Soviet doctrine; it is too obviously a device for obstructing all international action except what specifically contributes to the triumphant advance of world communism. Why then has the Soviet Union adopted this approach to world affairs?

The apparently unnegotiable troika doctrine serves notice upon the world that there is to be no interna-

tional co-operation except on Soviet terms. If the price is not paid—and it is indeed unpayable—then Russia will not even offer token co-operation in the burgeoning chaos of world affairs. It goes without saying that unresolved confusion is a diet on which communism thrives and waxes strong. By this late date it should be apparent to the world that communism is not interested in solving problems but in creating them and exploiting the tensions that arise from them. Movement toward world unity or co-operation, except on terms that favor final unity under the Red flag, is anathema to Soviet ideology. In this sense, the "balky horse" attitude of the USSR may prove another effective stratagem in the Cold War.

The Dialogue in Soho

William Wells

SOHO IS THAT amorphous area of London's West End that is supposed to be the haven of London's criminal element (true, in a sense that the strip-tease club area of any metropolis performs this function to some extent), and is supposed to contain that Cheap Little Foreign Restaurant (if you haven't read your Michael Arlen, go to the foot of the class). The cheap little restaurant, Jimmy's in Frith Street, is decidedly English and provides one with great piles of roast beef and potatoes for the equivalent of 50¢.

Soho should be better known for a large, well-lighted (but not that clean) place known as The Partisan. This spot is a notably unpretentious espresso coffee shop in Carlisle Street that has become the semiofficial clubhouse for the left-wing elements among the metropolis' university students, teachers, writers and painters. One meets Nigerians, Kenyans, Indians, doctors, clergymen, nuclear disarmers (the latter are bidding fair to take over the place) and the occasional young office clerk out for an evening of kicks. On Saturday nights one can go down to the basement for a couple of hours of guitar-playing, folk-singing and poetry (?) reading—all this for two shillings sixpence.

Recently at The Partisan, on a visit made primarily for a quick and economical pot of tea (read both "pot" and "tea" in their more traditional meanings, please), the writer became delightfully involved with: a Unitarian from San Francisco; a Norwegian seaman who looked like the archetypal Cap'n Ahab; a 13-year-old Nuclear Disarmer recognized by the characteristic membership badge—he wore two and, so help me, was using them as collar stays; a tall Ulster Orangeman with a cigarette-rolling machine; a Swiss import-export clerk; and a gent who referred to himself throughout

the evening as a Jerusalemite Catholic. If the cast of characters sounds a bit contrived, the writer can only plead utter innocence and invite skeptics to come over and look for themselves.

I was hardly seated with my clattering pot and "cuppa" before the porcine and jolly chap on my left handed me a buff-colored pamphlet that screamed from its masthead in blue, bold-faced type: *Peacefare: The Journal for Spreading the Concept of Jerusalem Catholicism*.

My own brand of curiosity is such that a headline like this will cause me to drop everything—even a ninepenny pot of tea—and give over my full attention to the publication's contents. The owner of the pamphlet (and I shall call him Humphrey) was apparently holding a revival at the table, and was engaged in bitter Nestorian controversy with the San Francisco Unitarian and the Orangeman. I thought about asking him not to hit the table so hard because little rivulets of tea were beginning to get at my trousers. I didn't wish to seem rude, however, so I left him to his proselytizing—the seaman, the Swiss and the disarming young man looking on—while I read his publication.

The front-page editorial was entitled "Armageddon Has Started!" and led off with

Armageddon started when Christ came on earth and began his Jerusalemite Catholic Church. What is called Christendom today is under a new Babylonish captivity, and is dominated by national and group politics in many places of the world. True Jerusalemite Catholicity has been largely crushed from it . . . tranquilizers, drugs, smoking and inoculations render masses docile. The fool's path to paradise is one of the things in vogue set up by Lord Luck, one of the princelings of modern Babylon. . . . Coupled with this is the impregnation of people by the death-pang voodoo cacophony of jazz.

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Such imagery was overwhelming. Not feeling strong enough for it, I turned to the inside pages. Here I was told that

Peacefare is the journal for spreading the concept of Jerusalemite Catholicism. It will be asked whether this venture aims at starting another church. The answer is most definitely No, for the simple reason that there has been and can be only one true church, and that is the Jerusalemite Catholic Church with the Lord Jesus Christ at its head.

This is not to say that there are not some good Christians in the various denominations, just as there were doubtless good Jews who were prisoners in Babylon. Furthermore, one should have tremendous respect for the Roman Catholics' fine discipline but not for their singular lack of peace-making. Likewise one should have tremendous respect for. . . .

The *Peacefare* pamphlet went on having respect for various facets of several denominations and politely disrespecting their other facets. The rest of the inside pages and the back cover were a welter of scriptural "proofs" for Jerusalemite Catholicism, with comments by Humphrey, who was, I discovered, the exegete and editor. Humphrey's prose often identified Christ as the "Number One Specialist in Life after Death," which surely competes with the best of Madison Avenue.

"Humphrey," I asked during a lull, "why do you say that the Roman Catholics are guilty of a 'singular lack of peacemaking'?"

The seaman filled his pipe, the Orangeman rolled another cigarette and, while Humphrey tentatively opened his mouth to answer me, the young Nuclear Disarmer asked, rather truculently, what the Pope was doing to further disarmament; and the California Unitarian informed me that the Church started the Loyalist War. I needed time to think before tackling the teenager's question—surely a fair one to ask—so I told my West Coast friend that if he was referring to the Spanish Civil War, I wasn't aware that the Church had started it.

"Man, everyone knows that," he told me pityingly. "If you don't know the Catholics started the Loyalist War, you're biased, man, that's all. Everyone knows that."

"But I don't know it. Really, I don't. Tell me about it."

"That's 'cause you're biased, man. Everyone knows the Catholics sent bullets to Franco. Didn't you know that, man?"

This tack clearly wouldn't do. I turned to my teenage friend, but he was busy selling the seaman on disarmament. The Swiss was moderating their discussion, and Humphrey was tilted back in his chair, looking at me with an expression of marked triumph.

"Humphrey," I asked, "have you read Sheed's *Theology and Sanity*?"

"Fulton Sheed? No. But I've read some of him, old fellow."

"No, no, Humphrey. Sheed. Frank J. Sheed. *Theology and Sanity*."

"Well, look, old bean, all these priests—"

"He isn't. He's a layman."

"Well, no, I haven't. What's the point, old man? All these fellows are liars, you know."

"All what fellows?"

"Why, all these Catholic fellows. Kingsley proved that. Don't you know what Kingsley said, that truth is never a virtue with Catholics?"

"That isn't exactly what he said, Humphrey. But look—have you read Newman's answers to Kingsley?"

"Whose?"

"Newman. Cardinal Newman."

"Never heard of him, old fellow. But you know he couldn't have answered Kingsley. Kingsley proved he couldn't."

"Now look, Humphrey. Newman was the person Kingsley was attacking. And he wrote some articles and a book soon after this, answering Kingsley's charges. You really ought to read Newman. You want to see both sides of it, don't you?"

"Well, see here, old chap. If you'll just read these passages from Holy Scripture here, you'll see there's only one side, Jerusalemite Catholicism. Look here, now, what it says here: 'Isaiah said that Jerusalem would be a praise in all the earth.' Isn't that enough for you? Isaiah was a prophet!" Humphrey's triumph was complete.

"But, Humphrey—"

"No, no, no, none o' that equivocating, young fella." The Orangeman shook his rolling machine at me. "Ye heard what Isaiah said, dinches? Can't argue with that now, canna?"

"But I don't see what—"

"Exactly. Exactly. You don't *want to see*," Humphrey told me, tolerantly. "Now see here, chap, what it says at the bottom here: 'Let Christian pacifists be in the front line witnessing for peace. Put on the whole armor of Christ and forward into Armageddon. The struggle for the New Jerusalem is on.' Now what's wrong with that, ay?"

"There nothing *wrong* with it, I—"

"There, you see. Even you see that. Nothing wrong with that. What?" Humphrey looked to the Orangeman for confirmation, and they nodded vigorously at each other.

The youngster and the Norwegian were still exploring the mysteries of disarmament. I looked at my watch, thought of my morning classes and made my good-nights. The Swiss gentleman hadn't spoken much to me, but now he walked with me to the Leicester Square underground. "Those fellows," he said. He pointed significantly at his forehead. "Bad, bad thinking."

"What's your position in this?"

"Me? I'm a Jew," he said. He smiled, shook my hand warmly, and was off.

A copy of *Peacefare*, Vol. I, No. 1, here on my desk beside me denies any possibility that I was dreaming. I saw the San Franciscan again a week or so later, but I don't think he recognized me. I haunted The Partisan for awhile in search of others from the group, but never saw them again.

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Dilemma in Laos

Frank N. Trager

THE DIRE WORDS printed below were spoken by Winston Churchill in despair over Munich in 1938. They are apposite today as the Conference of Fourteen Nations at Geneva concerned with the "future" of Laos goes on its dreary way. The Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting in Vienna, which was supposed to insure a genuine cease-fire in Laos, has provided no such assurance. The Communist Pathet Lao and their Vietminh allies, the New York *Times* reported on June 18, "are said to have captured at least 19 loyalist military posts and positions [up to June 10] since they agreed" (emphasis added) to the May 3 cease-fire. Padong, a key royalist position, has fallen. Vientiane, the administrative capital of the Royal Laos government, is a baker's dozen miles away from new guerrilla Pathet Lao threats.

But the military situation in Laos is no longer the main issue. Laos, situated like North Vietnam above the 17th parallel of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, has been allowed to go down the drain. The French and the Americans have formally proposed a timetable and a program under which Laos is to be neutral and have its neutrality guaranteed by the Conference of Fourteen Nations meeting at Geneva.

The proposal includes the withdrawal of foreign civilian and military personnel—with one exception. The French request that they be permitted to retain in Laos their military-training apparatus as stipulated in the terms of the 1954 Geneva accords. That they—or, for that matter, the United States as well—failed in the intervening years to train Royal Laotian armed forces sufficiently to withstand the guerrilla activity of the Communist Pathet Lao only adds to the irony of the present situation.

President Kennedy and Chairman Khrushchev presumably agreed on an effective cease-fire and a neutral and independent Laos. But these words, as events have already proved, have painfully different meanings for

the two men. To Mr. Khrushchev, all East-West decisions involving a "neutral, independent" Laos must be unanimous or else the veto will be exercised. This application of the Troika Doctrine, whether or not it has been formally accepted by the Western powers, in fact holds sway in Laos. As a result, the International Control Commission for Laos (India, Canada and Poland) has been virtually stalemated by Communist resistance to the Western proposal of decision by majority.

In the meantime, the evil genius of Krishna Menon, the chief spokesman for India at Geneva, appears to have nullified the findings of the Indian chairman of the ICC in Laos who obviously was aware of Sino-Soviet aid to the still advancing Pathet Lao. Moreover, both the Chinese Communist Foreign Minister Chen-yi at Geneva and Mr. Khrushchev in his report on the Vienna meeting make it clear that for them the neutrality of Laos means the elimination of the ICC and therefore of

any effective guarantee of the neutrality and independence of what remains of Laos. Laos, I repeat, is being allowed to drift into the Sino-Soviet maw under the guise of "peaceful coexistence."

This statement is not merely a pessimistic reaction to U.S. failure in Laos, a failure due to our lack of will and to our fear of the risks our intervention involved. It is a prediction of high probability based on an assessment of the comparative strength of Communist and non-Communist forces in that country. "The Grim Lesson of Laos," an article by Peggy Durdin which appeared in the New York *Times Magazine* for May 21, brilliantly summarizes communism's planned advance in that simple agrarian Buddhist kingdom. It should be required reading for all our fellow citizens and decision-makers, to whom mainland Southeast Asia is a remote *terra incognita*, halfway round the world.

Since 1950 the United States has undertaken considerable responsibility in South, Southeast and East Asia. We have negotiated collective defense arrangements under both the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations with Korea, Japan, the Philippines, the Republic of China (Taiwan), Thailand, Pakistan, Aus-

After Munich, 1938

We have sustained a total and unmitigated defeat, . . . a defeat without a war, the consequences of which will travel far with us along our road. . . . And do not suppose this is the end. This is only the beginning of the reckoning. This is only the first sip, the first foretaste of a bitter cup which will be proffered to us year by year unless by a supreme recovery of moral health and martial vigor, we arise again and take our stand for freedom as in the olden time.

Winston Churchill

DR. TRAGER, formerly director of the Point IV program in Burma, is Professor of International Affairs at New York University.

tralia and New Zealand. We took Laos, Cambodia and the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) under our protective umbrella. There has been no lack of defense treaties. Had we been prepared to fulfill our commitments, we and the Laotians might have been spared this further erosion of freedom in Asia. Since the fall of China in 1949, Communist imperialism or colonialism has advanced in Korea, in Vietnam and in Tibet. It has penetrated the trans-Himalayan rimlands of the Indian subcontinent and Burma, and has now won a cheap but effective victory in Laos.

Obviously, neither U.S. foreign-policy concepts of collective defense, represented chiefly by Seato, nor the competing concepts of Asian neutralism have halted the aggressive march of communism in the area. Nevertheless, I would still recommend an Asian-U.S. allied effort to push the Communists out of Laos. If that failed, I would accept partition.

Since our military commitment in Korea in 1950, we have been unwilling or unable to act effectively in Asia. U.S. money and Western aid in terms of military assistance, defense support and economic assistance have not purchased sufficient protection against Sino-Soviet advances. They have not contributed to the domestic stability and progress of the independent countries of the area. The UN has been powerless in Tibet and virtually excluded from Laos. The neutral Afro-Asian bloc agitates for sanctions against Portugal because of Angola but, with one or two notable exceptions, is relatively silent on Communist China's treatment of Tibet and the Soviet Union's aggression in Hungary, to say nothing of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and other countries absorbed by Soviet imperialism.

BUT THIS is not the time to lay the blame for past failures in Asia. It is the time to inquire what we, together with our Asian friends, will next do to put a halt to Sino-Soviet "peaceful" penetration, to war by proxy, to Southeast Asia's slippage behind the Iron and Bamboo curtains.

In the first place, we in the United States—and the other peoples of the diminishing free world—must recognize that Southeast Asia is still a vital, strategic area. The realization will not come from whirlwind trips to summit conferences, though such trips may have some educative value. What is required is careful, steady association with the 180-190 millions of people in Southeast Asia. They are not going to accept a Western policy which plays up such nations as Japan or India and plays down their own interests. These people have newly come to independence. They wish to preserve it. They are potentially rich in human and material resources, and their leaders at least have voiced national aspirations for security, stability and improvement in living conditions. Except for the growing problem of Western New Guinea—still held by the Dutch—old-style Western imperialism has all but vanished from that area.

Our task is to find a way to work with Southeast Asians in order to prevent any further encroachment of new-style Sino-Soviet imperialism. This means that

we Americans must make a *moral* commitment to be as concerned about Southeast Asia as we are about Berlin or the Western Hemisphere.

It means, second, that we must no longer hide behind or bewail our "lack of capability," i.e., our military unpreparedness. We must be ready to hold the line wherever it is now drawn. If, as I here argue, Southeast Asia is the continuing target area of Peking, which needs its exportable food surpluses and *Lebensraum*, then it follows that our prime requirement is to deny the target to the enemy. Argument over strategic deterrent power versus conventional forces is witless in the present emergency. We *must* afford what is required and be prepared to use what is required. We can no longer afford to be blackmailed by fear of the consequences.

Third, we must examine closely Peking's current strategy in Asia. Communist China's invasion of the Indian Himalayan rimlands is, among other things, designed to keep India off balance, to deflect India as much as possible from achieving even the slender victories of her successive five-year plans. If India can be kept from becoming a "big power" in the area, and if Japan can be partially neutralized by the lure of China's trade, then Peking acquires a freer hand in Southeast Asia. With the Mekong Valley now obviously in danger, the Southeast Asian rice bowl is clearly within the Communist grasp. After that come the rubber, tin and oil riches of the Southeast Asian archipelago. The Communists will continue to use the tactics of the military probe, of instigated domestic strife, infiltration, subversion and propaganda, of cajoling with promises of economic aid.

In these circumstances, it is imperative that the United States take a second look at the Seato alliance. *If Seato had been instrumental in saving Laos, it would have won its first spurs in the life-and-death struggle in which we are engaged in Asia.* Hitherto indifferent, even hostile, Asian nations may have been willing to join. Now however, Seato, like the king in his fabled "clothes," stands forth in its nakedness. It has failed its first major test. Among its Asian members—Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines—faith in its future has noticeably weakened. Even England and France among its Western members have persistently downgraded any policy decision which might have made Seato something other than a "paper tiger."

Hence the United States must devise a new policy for Southeast Asia. It must aim at alerting the area and concerting where possible the interests of the free Asian countries without, however, tying them to a Western-made defense pact which does not defend. This is essentially a *bilateral* task, of which the new agreement with Vietnam following Vice President Johnson's recent visit may be an augury. It is for us to strengthen each of the threatened Asian nations and to encourage—not lead—their own brand of regionalism. At the same time, we cannot afford any longer to plead, as we did during the Laos crisis, our inability to meet our obligations.

Such bilateral and, eventually, I hope, indigenous



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regional effort, must go beyond financial aid, 80 per cent of which is usually spent in this country. We must begin to see each free Asian nation as a totality, in terms of its political, economic and social needs and capabilities. Helping to introduce order and profit in the production and marketing of Asian raw materials may do more for Asian stability than providing the money for another Asian armored division. Aid must be seen as a correlative of indigenous economic effort which, in turn, must not be thwarted in the international market place. Peace Corps Americans will gain much by their experience, but the training and *utilization* of young Asians in Asia will do more for their respective countries. Illiteracy and endemic ill health can be banished in a few years, but the opportunity to profit from education and good health requires longer-range planning and governmental skills not yet sufficiently in evidence. "White-collar" unemployment and manpower wastage often provide the single largest source of Communist recruitment and support.

Finally, we have a new task. This is, perhaps, our most far-reaching one. We must undertake to live up to our own ideals of freedom at home and everywhere. We must not attempt to export American ways, for not all American ways are worthy of emulation. We must not reject the ways of others because they are not ours. But we can hold up a standard for ourselves and others, a standard of freedom, independence and growth, however variant the institutions of freedom

may be. We are in an excellent position to be standard-bearer. The old imperialism of the Western powers has virtually departed from the area. We can legitimately take part in the unlamented wake that has ushered on its passing. We can legitimately refuse to play the scapegoat any longer. It is done. We can urge Asians to look ahead, not back, and help them understand what the Burmese Kyaw Nyein once called the "more ruthless" imperialism of the Soviets.

If we work hard at these four interrelated tasks, if we work together fairly and equally with all those Asians who are willing to co-operate, we still have a chance to block any further Sino-Soviet advance. The loss of Laos, grievous, unnecessary and hurtful, may have served some purpose if we now convert our poor defense into a successful defense and advance. The conversion requires of us a commitment—a long-range commitment which should be honored, no matter what the cost—to the tasks of nation-building in the new and old states of free Asia.

Nation-building embraces all that I have put forward above. It is an effort at harnessing the charge of nationalism to evolving, fruitful, national institutions without superimposing "our" patterns on "their" evolution. I submit that evolving, fruitful national institutions cannot become such unless they enlist the voluntary participation of citizens. In that way democracy and freedom grow. Our task is to help these citizens of the new Asia before it is too late.

BOOKS

Lots of Hate to Keep From Loving

POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY: The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt
By William Henry Harbaugh. Farrar, Straus & Cudahy. 568p. \$7.50

This eminently readable biography is a highly interpretative portrayal of a man whose decided character and strongly accentuated career made ardent friends and bitter enemies. It is a controversial book which evidences careful organization presented in a delightfully refreshing style. Like T.R. himself, it is sure to elicit warm admiration as well as studied hostility. As Irvin S. Cobb remarked: "You have to hate the Colonel a whole lot to keep from loving him." Though critical and perceptive in his approach, Harbaugh harbors no hatred for his ebullient subject.

Presently a senior fellow in the Yale Law School, the author (Ph.D. '54, Northwestern) knows his Roosevelt and

the mass of published Rooseveltiana, including the most recent interpretations by scholars like Mowry, E. Morison, Blum and the late Howard K. Beale. Besides a gifted pen, Harbaugh has brought to his task insight and a sense of fairness.

If the author allows T.R. to strut on the superlative level as "the most eminent intellectual to sit in the White House since John Quincy Adams" (p.260), or "as the most brilliant administrator . . . and the most inspiring leader ever to quicken the nation's courage" (p.502), he is far from blind to shortcomings that caused Roosevelt to blunder abroad and to miscalculate at home. In interpreting "big stick" and "gunboat" diplomacy, Harbaugh contends that T.R. "suffered an acute and far-ranging vision to be blurred by too sweeping a commitment to force or the threat of force." Again, a matchless zest

for life and a boyish enthusiasm "repelled men who should have taken him seriously." Nor was opportunism missing in the complex Roosevelt character, as he shifted easily from one cause and allegiance to another. This Harbaugh attributes to the "harsh conviction that politics is the art of the possible." Indeed, T.R. cared as much for a fight as for a right—and sometimes more.

Discriminating readers with a broad interest in American history will find this book a stimulating study. T.R. is credited with shattering the economic status quo with his Square Deal, which sired, in the author's opinion, the New and Fair Deals and the present "welfare state." Yet his conduct of foreign affairs, especially in Latin America, is censured as something less than heroic. Here, more in the role of a "Rollicking Ranchman of Bogus Reform," the President fostered a diplomacy that possessed "the sensitivity of a blunderbuss."

By his own criteria Theodore Roosevelt dared to be great. He never feared to negotiate and he refused to negotiate out of fear. Yet he remains a center of controversy, loved by some and hated by others. Though once awarded the

Nobel Peace Prize, he left behind some fighting thoughts about peace: "Let us dictate peace by hammering guns and not chat about peace to the accompaniment of the clicking of typewriters."

HARRY J. SIEVERS

Too Simple a View

MILA 18

By Leon Uris. Doubleday. 539p. \$4.95

When a critic is faced with a piece of creative writing based on so horrible an event as the attempted extermination of the Jewish people during World War II, the critical problem becomes very delicate. The danger is that objective criticism of the artist's performance may be mistaken for insensitivity to the tragic historic fact. It is precisely the enormity of horror which the story of the Warsaw ghetto engenders, however, which justifies and demands an art of a higher caliber than is at work in *Mila 18*.

Mr. Uris has, in effect, taken a handful of pages from his earlier popular success, *Exodus*, to expand it and its capsule story into 539 pages. The expansion attempts to prove one idea which no longer needs proof, and to establish a second idea which is very difficult to believe. The generally accepted truth is that the Jewish people are not merely supine sufferers in the face of persecution. Historically, they have offered fierce and courageous resistance to their persecutors.

The second idea—and it seems to this critic to be dominant—is a blanket condemnation of almost every group which he treats, with the exception of the more devoted Zionist Jews. Rather more care has been exercised in this novel than in its predecessor to indicate that such adverse judgment of large groups is not absolutely without exception. Thus, there is one Catholic, a priest, who does befriend the Jewish objects of Polish and German hatred. In general, however, the author seems to portray all Poles, Germans and Catholics as a whole, as being perfectly content to engage in, or connive at, the persecution of the Jewish people.

Quite apart from the dubiously historical accuracy of such a judgment, quite apart from the slight psychological probability of it, it strikes me that even polemically (and there is no doubt that Mr. Uris is writing polemically) this is a dangerous, two-edged sword to be wielded by one who, quite properly, protests the imposition of labels.

Apart from these rather abstract reflections, however, one can report that,

as a story, *Mila 18* moves rapidly and sustains the interest of the reader. In addition, several quite fascinating characters are developed, even though the fascination is, in a few instances, of a somewhat morbid variety.

Mr. Uris feels passionately, writes efficiently, narrates interestingly. When and if his vision becomes less monocular and his judgments on people and events lose their narrowness and naïveté, he may write a novel worthy of the rebirth of Israel.

BRENDAN CONNOLLY

POPE JOAN—A Novel by Emmanuel Royidis

Trans. from the Greek by Lawrence Durrell, Dutton. 150p. \$3.50

Was there really a Pope Joan? No. But there was indeed excitement to spare in the year 855 when Pope St. Leo IV died. This was the time when Pope Joan was supposed to have ascended the throne of St. Peter. Actually Leo IV's successor was Benedict IV and he had to defend the papal throne, not against any mythical Joan, but against Arsenius, Bishop of Horta, who tried to replace Benedict with his excommunicated son Anastasius. Even Platina, who mentions the old fable, says that "the story is vulgarly told, but by very uncertain and obscure authors." Whether or not Royidis believes in an historical Pope Joan, this account is fiction and as fiction it should be judged.

Mr. Lawrence Durrell in his introduction quotes a Greek literary critic as saying of *Pope Joan*: "It is a typical scamp of a book, a Greek book, full of good fun, bad taste and laughter and irreverence." Bad taste and irreverence it surely is full of, and laughter is there, too, but the humor seems for the most part to be very immature.

The book does have the merit of clarity. Its breezy style makes it easy to read and it loses nothing of its attractiveness in Mr. Durrell's translation.

The story of Pope Joan, from her birth as the result of a rape to her shameful death, is a farrago of filth.

Reviewers . . .

HARRY J. SIEVERS, S.J., is author of a two-volume study of Benjamin Harrison (University Publishers, 1959, 1960).

BRENDAN CONNOLLY, S.J., is librarian at Boston College.

JOSEPH BRUSHER, S.J., is author of *Popes Through the Ages* (Van Nostrand, 1960).

Boydis shares with Boccaccio and Marguerite of Angoulême a delight in telling dirty stories about monks and nuns. To do him justice, Royidis does not linger on obscene descriptions; he contents himself with leaving these to the reader's imagination. Voltaire and Lucian (whose famous dream he imitates) obviously have had an influence on him, and he sneers at sacred things.

Much praise has been heaped upon *Pope Joan*, but this reviewer thinks it highly exaggerated. The language in Mr. Durrell's translation does sparkle, but the humor is often crude and immature. And the characterization! Pope Joan is much closer to being a clothing dummy than a Dickensian character. Put her in ordinary circumstances and she would be as flat as any paper-doll cut-out. She would fit well in a comic strip for she has about as much depth of character as Daisy Mae Yokum.

JOSEPH S. BRUSHER

TSELANE

By J. Louw van Wijk. Houghton, Mifflin. 282p. \$3.75

This is a beautiful and terrifying novel. It is beautiful in its iteration of the basic human identities, especially in the tender, sacred relationship between Tselane and her husband, Khama. It is terrifying in its projection of the savage inhumanity of tribal ritual. It is Africa at the crossroads, more particularly young Africa facing away from the pull of tribal loyalties to the more civilized ways of the industrial world and the missionary.

The novel is said to be based on a true story, an incident which happened in South Africa, disguised to "help keep the horrors of the past out of [the] minds and hearts" of the people involved. Tselane is a young wife in Basutoland whose husband must be away at his work in the city of the white man for months at a time. When the story opens she is expecting their first child and is dreading, more than usually, the forthcoming separation. Khama will not be with her when the child is born and she is afraid "something will happen" to it. Something does.

In their village the chief, whose wife is childless, names Tselane to be the victim of a ritual murder whose purpose is to provide, from the body of a pregnant woman, "diretlo," a magic potion or medicine that will enable the chief's wife to bear him a child. Among the men who are chosen to murder Tselane is one who secretly loves her and will risk his own life to save her from the unspeakable horror.

KING AND CHURCH

by W. Eugene Shiels, S.J.

Shortly before America was discovered, the kings of Spain received an unusual grant from Rome. It was the royal patronage of the Church, the right to administer all religious affairs in Granada. The grant was soon extended to the Indies. This patronage produced excellent results in the establishment of religion overseas and in building and cementing the structure of empire. It deserved to be called "the most precious pearl in the royal diadem."

But the grant created an unnatural situation that led in time to a servitude of the Church to the State. Taken altogether it developed into a magnificent illusion, a Church subservient to a Crown that finally perverted the patronal function. History never gave clearer, more cogent warning against improper ties between religion and civil government.

The book aims primarily to present in full the documents that are basic to a study of the patronage, and in this to make clear just what was its origin and operation. These texts are woven into a narrative that spans the three centuries of the patronage.

W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., began his studies of the Spanish empire under Professor Herbert E. Bolton at the University of California, where he received his doctorate in 1933. Since then he has been teaching and writing in the same field. He is professor of history and chairman of the department at Xavier University, Cincinnati. He is an active member of the historical associations and an associate editor of *Mid-America*.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY PRESS
Chicago 13

Tselane's escape and her flight, alone, in planes and trains, across South Africa to find her husband is sometimes as terrifying as the ritual murder. The circumstances and consequences of the birth of her child are shattering, not only in their physical aspects but in their social implications as well.

If I have given the impression that this is a bloodcurdling story, let me hasten to add that it is not unbearably so, nor is horror featured for its own sake. There is a wonderful tenderness and compassion, an illuminating sensitivity to "the still, sad music of humanity" that shines out and makes this the richest reading experience I have had in years. This is perhaps the greatest praise I can give it: a novel for the discriminating few.

FORTUNATA CALIRI



Clutter in Space

THE SPACE AGE is less than four years old, but already people are losing count of what's going on out there. So let's take a look at the record between the orbiting of the first sputnik and the day Yuri Gagarin made the first hop around the globe.

This 42-month period saw no less than 89 acknowledged attempts to launch earth satellites or various kinds of space probes. There were three in 1957, 18 in 1958, 22 in 1959 and 33 in 1960. In 1961, Gagarin's rocket was the 13th to take off in what will be the busiest year so far.

Of these 89 attempts to enter space, 75 were made by the United States. Before you cheer, however, take note that in the sometimes ugly jargon of space talk, 35 of these U.S. efforts were "aborts," i.e., the rocket dismally failed in its mission. On balance, then, the United States had successfully put 40 satellites and planetoids in space up until April 12, 1961.

How well has the Soviet Union done? In the public record, Gagarin's epic flight was the 14th Russian launching. All of these, naturally, were reasonably successful. As everyone knows (to paraphrase a popular Soviet mode of speak-

ing), Soviet rockets never abort; they are successful by definition.

The simple fact is, of course, that Russian rocketry has its duds, just as we do, but a strict military secrecy that covers all Soviet space operations makes it impossible to construct from public sources a meaningful table of their failures of mission. If Russian failures have run in about the same ratio as those of the United States, then it is likely that the space age has already seen more than a hundred efforts to shoot rockets into orbit or on more ambitious flights.

A total of 54 good "birds" (40 U.S. and 14 USSR) in 42 months is a fine omen of what is to come, as we shall see. But first, let me digress a moment on the difference between the U.S. and Soviet programs.

The Soviet space program has been geared to a relatively small number of rockets that have specialized in biological experiments leading to manned space flight, and to a few spectacular feats of limited scientific but great prestige value, such as the lunar probes and the much heralded but ill-fated Venus rocket of Feb. 12. As a result, it may be argued that Soviet efforts in space have not been as valuable as what Uncle Sam has been able to achieve, despite his handicap of marginal rocket power.

The 40 U.S. rockets represent a very wide field of scientific investigation, oriented both to military and civilian aims. We have tested many types of engines and a great variety of payloads. Our smaller satellites are not only much more numerous than the Russian ones; they also stay up in space much longer, by and large, and are built to send back information over longer periods of time. Hence, in the estimation of most U.S. scientists, we have gained a great lead over the USSR in the acquisition of basic space lore; and unless we have badly erred, this knowledge will be of increasing value in the future space contest.

This point was made by Lloyd B. Berkner of the NASA on May 27. "Since, as space activity becomes more difficult . . . , the space effort will be limited by our knowledge of space at any time," he said, "leadership in space science must soon become one of the controlling factors in acquiring space leadership generally."

It would be a grave mistake, then, to associate space leadership with the biggest rockets and the noisiest propaganda stunts. It is the United States, not the USSR, that is ready to launch the rockets that will transform weather forecasting into an exact and economically

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beneficial science. It is we who will soon permit private industry to build an enormous network of telephone, radio and television facilities in the skies.

What lies in the immediate future, apart from the obvious effort to land men on the moon?

More than a year ago, NASA unwrapped a plan to launch 260 "civilian" satellites and space probes before 1970. This scientific program did not take into account military activity or the possible use of space by private industry.

As the future unrolls, the NASA figure may prove to be a low one. *Space World* for August, 1961 is now talking of a satellite "explosion." Before the decade is out, there may be 5,000 objects in space. The Air Force alone is said to be thinking in terms of 200 spy satellites.

Although we do not know Russian plans, and it is still impossible to say when Britain, France, Red China, etc., will get in the game, I find it incredible that there will be several thousand satellites in orbit by 1970. But I will readily agree that, whatever the true number, nearby space is going to be very cluttered indeed. There will be manned and unmanned rockets of many kinds. There will be rockets on military and scientific missions and doing civilian chores. And every year there will be a greater accumulation of debris—dead payloads, useless casings, nose cones, explosive bolts and so on.

The worry does not lie in the danger of collisions: that probability remains very slight, no matter how much trash is orbiting about. The real danger lies in the nature of a rocketry that is not regulated by international law. If falling rocket debris kills a man or a Cuban cow, who gets the blame? How long will it be before communication channels in space become intolerably fouled up? Will secret military operations in space pose a threat to the security of any nation?

It is most unfortunate, but at this moment space is a wholly lawless realm. There isn't even any agreement among the nations as to how far up it begins. It is just too bad that man's greatest adventure is beginning in an atmosphere that is sure to engender disputes and conflicts of interest on a broad scale. Once again we are seeing a powerful and ambitious technology outrace the development of the political instruments of control that ought to regulate its activities for the common benefit of mankind.

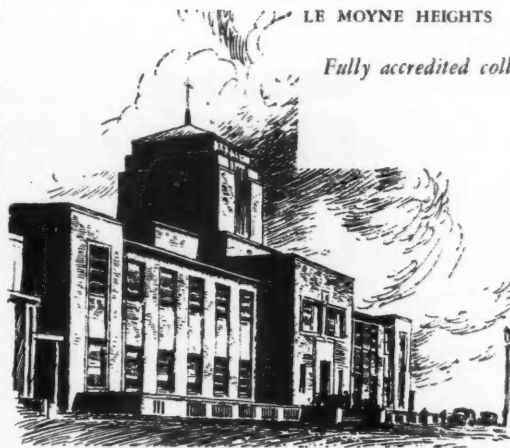
Once again, too, it is the USSR that must bear a large share of blame for the emerging chaos. It is the Soviet

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LAS Arts and Sciences	G Graduate School	M Medicine	SF Sister Formation
AE Adult Education	HS Home Study	Mu Music	Sp Speech
A Architecture	ILL Institute of	N Nursing	Sy Seismology Station
C Commerce	LL Languages and	P Pharmacy	T Theatre
D Dentistry	L Linguistics	PT Physical Therapy	AROTC Army
DH Dental Hygiene	IR Industrial Relations	RT Radio-TV	NROTC Navy
Ed Education	J Journalism	S Social Work	AFROT Air Force
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Union's determination to "go it alone" in space that has nullified the attempt to create the rudiments of space law under UN auspices.

L. C. McHUGH



Our Lord warns us that honeyed words and a show of kindness must be measured by factual performance. Hence we little heed how a man describes himself in words; it is his deeds that aptly describe him (St. Hilary, on the Gospel for the Seventh Sunday after Pentecost).

"What do you read, my lord?" asks Polonius, with transparent insincerity, of Prince Hamlet. Hamlet answers with more wit and significance than at first appears: "Words, words, words." Words, words, words—they constitute an issue in the Christian life, an issue to which we may profitably attend. St. James, in his Epistle, is eloquent on the subject: *If anyone deludes himself by thinking he is serving God, when he has not learned to control his tongue, the service he gives is vain. . . . Just so, the tongue is a tiny part of our body, and yet what power it can boast! How small a spark it takes to set fire to a vast forest!*

However, James is evidently thinking of words that are downright malicious; Hilary, in our text, is taking notice of words that are unreliable. It might be possible to make a kind of catalogue of such unreliable words.

First, there are *pretentious* words. It is fairly obvious that a number of individuals steadily use speech for the main purpose of creating an impression. We mortal men faithfully and pathetically cherish the conviction that others must be profoundly moved by our simple declarations, chiefly, it would seem, because the declarations are ours, and largely concern ourselves. It is touching to see the value we attach to some commonplace experience on the ground that it has happened to us. The psychologists readily explain why many of us feel such a desperate need of the high opinion of other people. The marvel is that we think we can establish such opinion by mere talk.

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Secondly, there are *defensive* words. Some of us are never more eloquent than when we are in the wrong, and some of us likewise possess a really remarkable gift for being in the wrong. However, we can explain. We can always explain. There is no fluff or fumble or folly of ours that we cannot explain. We have a difficult temperament; ours is a hypersensitive nervous system; the digestion was disordered; the weather had been beastly; the provocation was clearly intolerable; the situation had been impossible from the outset; we hadn't had so much as a decent cup of coffee; it shouldn't happen to a dog. In quicksand, the harder the poor victim struggles to free himself, the more surely and deeply is he trapped.

Then there are *artificial* words. Perhaps it is actually impossible for men to be utterly honest in everything they say. There does exist a kind of merciless and unsolicited candor which amounts to rudeness. No doubt it is only civilized to tell people that of course we will—at some carefully unspecified time—come to dinner and look at the pictures they took in Scandinavia and admire the new playroom. Still, one ought not practice artificiality in speech when the hearers have no reason to expect it. It can be somewhat frightening to see how speech, the prime instrument of communication, can become a concealment and a barrier to understanding.

Of course, there are words which are totally *deceitful*. One speculates, periodically, about the incidence of fully conscious deception (what a contemporary philosopher, Pogo, calls the "barefaced lie") among those who honestly make profession of religion. A Protestant businessman with a high sense of honor is said to have remarked, entirely without malice: "I have rarely known a Catholic who was not a liar. Catholics say: 'It's only a venial sin,' and then they forget the whole issue." The indictment is surely far too sweeping. Interesting, though.

St. Hilary is right in declaring, as did our Lord, that we know men by what they do rather than by what they say. Yet, in an odd way, we do reveal, or maybe betray, ourselves by our words. Every word is a sign, and every sign points in a direction. For the speaker, these signs composed of breath and air and sound may point in one direction, while, for the hearer, they point most efficaciously in a very different and perhaps opposite direction. The Trappists are right, absolutely right.

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Such was the accolade bestowed on *AMERICA*, the National Catholic Weekly Review, by the Most Rev. Albert P. Zuroweste, honorary president of the Catholic Press Association, during the organization's national convention held in mid-May at Vancouver, B.C. Bishop Zuroweste here presents one of two awards to William Holub, general manager of *AMERICA*, who accepted in the name of the Editors.

A distinguished board of judges, singling out *AMERICA* "for general excellence," commented in a critique:

"The merit of *AMERICA*, the first choice, is underlined in its appeal for anyone seeking intelligent and informed opinion presented in a professional way. This appeal transcends any special audience, though the magazine forms its opinions out of a point of view, as any journal of opinion must. Besides an exemplary trio of articles on the Presidential issues (Nov. 5, 1960 issue), a change-of-pace article demonstrates editorial flexibility and imaginative approach. . . . The editorials and theatre and book reviews maintain the level of straightforward writing and provocative comment. . . . The judges in typography and layout also unhesitatingly selected *AMERICA*. Considerable thought has been given to typography, and the straightforward layout is most appropriate for this kind of magazine."

In selecting Fr. François Russo's "The Phenomenon of Man" as the best non-fiction article, the critics said:

"Excellent example of the non-fiction article . . . Fr. Russo's level of thought represents a successful conquest of a difficult subject."

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